SCIENTIFIC ARTICLE

(UN)OFFICIAL ANTHEMS AS A MEANS OF THE NATIONAL DIPLOMATIC/STATECRAFT MOMENTUM: THE CASES OF ZDRAVLJICA, HEJ, BRIGADE AND VSTAJENJE PRIMORSKE[1]

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The article deals with the importance of (un)official anthems for statecraft in Slovenia. An analysis of the emergence, development and structural incorporation into the affairs of the state and its diplomacy for the Slovenian national anthem *Zdravljica*, as well as two unofficial anthems, *Hej, brigade* (Ljubljana) and *Vstajenje Primorske* (the Primorska Region), reveals that a song can only become an important source or means of statecraft if it is accepted by social groups, and its 'statecraftness' must develop following the bottom-up principle. Only this way can a song gain the social legitimacy needed for it to become an effective means of creating, shaping and developing the diplomatic/statecraft momentum of a country internally and externally.

Key words: statecraft, anthem, Zdravljica, Vstajenje Primorske, Hej, brigade

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INTRODUCTION

Outside the religious context, the term anthem normally refers to a clearly distinguishable musical genre related to nations and states, and is inherently linked to the concept of statecraft. Its main role is a symbolic representation of a polity—be it organised as a state or not, a quasi-government unit or other entity—while its core purpose lies in creating an abstract conception of connectedness in a particular societal group that is supposed to share certain characteristics. These can be political, cultural, economic or other (Kočan 2019). The purpose of an anthem is thus to create a sense of a lowest common denominator binding individuals to a particular social (or state) community.

Although anthems are now largely related to statehood and statecraft, the term derives from the word antiphon (originally Ancient Greek ἀντίφωνα, *antíphōna*), a hymn of praise sung responsively, usually in a religious context. Similarly, the terms used in many other languages are derived from the Greek ὕμνος (*hýmnos*). With the Renaissance, and especially the Enlightenment, God and king (chosen by God) started being replaced by the state (as a new subject of praise and loyalty), and this became particularly relevant with the rise of nations in mid-19th century, when anthems became the main musical tool of strengthening statehood and statecraft (Kmecl 2005). In this sense, anthems are largely related to political discourse, as national anthems, and the term itself normally implies a reference to a state, nation or a distinct group of people. Consequently, the religious sense is becoming less common, and the political meaning is growing more prevalent. This is confirmed by frequently asked questions, such as whether people should applaud after a national anthem is performed, whether an anthem can be changed, or if a song can only be an anthem if this is set down in the constitution or law, on which occasions and how an anthem should be performed, as well as other common questions focusing on the symbolic aspects of (national) anthems rather than the content (Arbeiter and Udovič 2017; Arbeiter 2019).

All this sets the scene for our discussion on the position of the anthem in Slovenia as a symbol connecting individuals and social groups at the level of statehood and state-building. Here, we must underline particularly the symbolic role of anthems. In practice, an anthem is "just" a song with or without lyrics,[2] and lyrics can even be changed (e.g. the German national anthem). However, setting anthems in the context of diplomatic/statecraft activities opens up the questions of symbolism and the symbolic aspects in an anthem, as well as those deriving from it. An anthem in the context of the diplomatic/statecraft momentum is not only a piece of musical art, but bears broader connotations as it creates a fictional community that the anthem brings together (and which feels the anthem). This social group is bound together by certain shared characteristics (language, identity, state, nation, culture, etc.; see Bojinović Fenko 2015; Cugnata 2018), which in fact make this community (Deutsch 1970; Anderson 1995). On the other hand, exactly this creation of community by the anthem in turn re-creates the anthem, since the community created by the anthem in turn makes the anthem. This means the anthem is created and re-created in this dynamic flow, and it is precisely this closed continuum (Brglez 2008) which makes it an increasingly important (perhaps even the main) momentum of the diplomatic/statehood system of individuals, social groups and the state as an organised political community (Lukšič 1997).

Based on this, we can ascertain that for contemporary communities—whether organised or not—an anthem is something unique, something that in fact allows a diplomatic and statecraft momentum to emerge. The statecraft aspect lies in the fact that the national anthem (along with the flag) defines *prima facie* a state's statehood and statecraft; and the diplomatic aspect is that the national anthem, as well as its performance, derivations and connotations, can significantly impact the establishment, formulation and development of diplomatic relations between states. In this context, we can see that an anthem is absolutely not merely a musical piece, but rather that its musical value is of secondary importance. Primarily, a national anthem is an essential element (and at the same time an instrument) of statecraft.

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[2] Such an example is the *Ode to Joy* (from Beethoven's Ninth Symphony). As the anthem of the Council of Europe and the European Union it is performed without lyrics (despite attempts to set it to text), while it was also used between 1974 and 1979 as the national anthem of Rhodesia with lyrics starting with "Rise, O Voices of Rhodesia".

The aim of this article is to analyse three songs that have, each in their own way, become anthems in Slovenia – one became the official national anthem (*Zdravljica*), while two have reached the status of unofficial anthems (*Vstajenje Primorske* and *Hej, brigade*). Although some may contest the status of *Vstajenje Primorske* and *Hej, brigade* as 'anthems', our selection is substantiated by the response of individuals when these two pieces are performed. Their specific nature lies in that (in respective parts of Slovenia) many individuals meet their performance with the same level of respect and statecraft-related symbolism as they do with the national anthem *Zdravljica* (standing up, singing along, expressing emotions, etc.). Of course, having anthems outside the official national one is not specific to Slovenia (similar unofficial anthems include Strauss's *An der schönen, blauen Donau* in the case of Austria, Verdi's *Va, pensiero* for Italians, *Rákóczi-induló* for Hungarians, and *Bože, čuvaj Hrvatsku* for Croats, if we only take a look at Slovenia's neighbours), but it is relevant for our analysis to link these three examples, as they establish some sense of groundwork for the diplomatic/statecraft system in Slovenia.

The article consists of three parts. The introduction, outlining the issue, is followed by the theoretical framework, which operationalises statecraft and establishes the framework for the discussion on music as a means (and constituent element) of statecraft. This section uses the methods of critical analysis, discussion and synthesis to present the understanding of statecraft and define its relation to a state's prestige and reputation, as well as determine its capability to instrumentalise music as one of its means. The theoretical part is followed then by an analysis of the three selected cases, which is based mainly on the historical development method, participant observation, analysis of audio-visual material and coupling of data aimed at obtaining the most comprehensive insight possible. The article concludes with a discussion on the findings and suggestions for further research.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: HOW TO DEFINE STATECRAFT

Statecraft is extremely broad and therefore, hard to define (Baldwin, 1985; Sprout and Sprout, 1971). Therefore, it comes as no surprise that various authors use it in a completely different sense. David Baldwin (1985: 8) defines it as follows:

> Statecraft has traditionally been defined as the art of conducting state affairs. Such definition, of course, could include both foreign and domestic dimensions of public policy; but in contemporary usage the term has been virtually abandoned by students of domestic affairs. Among students of foreign policy and international politics the term is sometimes used to encompass the whole foreign-policy-making process, but more often it refers to the selection of means for the pursuit of foreign policy.

Holsti (1976: 293) understands it as limited to the foreign-policy activity of a state. An even narrower interpretation can be found with Anderson (1977: vii), who describes statecraft as “an old north European word for the science of government”, adding that the concept of statecraft “suggests that some aspects of the practice of politics have the form of a craft or an art and they require skill, technique, and judgement”. Of course, we can analyse and define statecraft, but we must first determine who its principal actors are, what are its principal means, and which channels are used to pursue it.

With regard to the principal actors of statecraft, Anderson (1977) identifies them especially in governments, while Baldwin (1985) expands this definition to those running state affairs, which does not necessarily mean governments. It can include liberation movements, NGOs, transnational organisations, companies or anyone with the authority to legally (not necessarily legitimately) enter the processes of pursuing statecraft. If the principal actor of statecraft is the category of political decision makers, the means of statecraft are much more fragmented. Traditionally, they are divided into three categories – political, economic and coercive means – but in modern social relations we should add at least the means of cultural and public activity. Both the means and the actors are objective factors defining statecraft. However, of course, objective/given factors are not enough to explain the functioning of statecraft, so we must add to the system of defining statecraft also the subjective factors, or the factors depending on political decision making.

Awareness that statecraft is important and those running the state must see it is crucial if we wish for statecraft to have any effect. Similarly to prestige, statecraft in itself has no meaning or impact. An awareness of the importance and possible activities within statecraft does not come by itself. On the contrary, it is a process that requires two things: education, and a sense of the state, its reputation and prestige. Regarding the education of those running the political life and the state, it was stressed already by Plato (1987: 126–128) that the guardians (rulers) should (a) have a keen perception (a sense for politics, the state and statecraft—A/N), (b) have speed, be high-spirited and courageous, (c) foster peace among their citizens, (d) have a disposition of a philosopher, and (e) be subject to continuous education. Having a sense for the state and *acting politically* means that political decision makers have the capability to manage the middle ground between pragmatism and ideology when it comes to political issues. It is inevitable that anyone managing political issues must constantly make decisions, and decisions are not always rational, but are sometimes also predominantly ideological. In this sense, statecraft should also be understood as a combination between the ideological and the pragmatic components. While the ideological component is more pronounced in its establishment, formulation and development, the pragmatic component is linked more to its results (Kateb 1964; Harriss 1963).

However, a *conditio sine qua non* to even consider statecraft is an expression of the need of a political decision maker for statecraft. Therefore, the establishment of statecraft is not something that is determined by external variables, but rather an internal need of a political decision maker that arises at a certain point and initiates the emergence of statecraft. The turning point is entirely subjective and bound to the individual. The individual must make a (conscious) decision to take the harness of statecraft and to establish, formulate and develop it responsibly. A conscious decision does not mean living and fostering statecraft only through one prism, but in all aspects of one's political activity. Statecraft thus becomes more than just a result; it is part of all political decisions.

It is logical that statecraft, once it is established, has its own characteristic features conditional on its temporal, spatial and programmatic dimensions. The temporal dimension defines the formulation of statecraft, or as Caldwell (1996: 660) points out, the condition for statecraft to develop into a successful activity is the readiness of the society to formulate the foundations for the design and realisation of statecraft. For a society to formulate these foundations, it must be "prepared to deal effectively with its problems while also protecting its future [and this] requires consensus on priorities along with organizations and policies appropriate to these purposes" (Caldwell 1996: 661). Within the temporal component of statecraft, it is crucial to find consensus on the fundamentals, and then steer and shape it to make it relatively permanent.

Apart from the temporal, the spatial component is also highly important for understanding and defining statecraft. This dimension determines how statecraft is understood, and what are its main and supporting elements. In this context, Tashjean (1973: 380) points out that the theory of statecraft has developed the most in Europe, but its roots have taken hold around the globe – from prehistoric civilisations to India, China and the Arab states. He believes that the basic lines of statecraft are the same everywhere, regardless of geography.

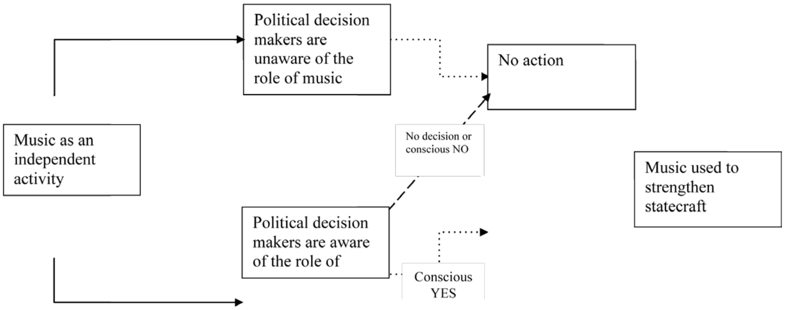
The programmatic dimension of statecraft develops in different areas where society, through its relations, decides to develop. Although so-called key areas are highlighted when establishing, formulating and developing statecraft, these areas are nevertheless set in a hierarchical order. The most important areas are the ones that must be covered by all key statecraft actors, while the specific areas are also important for establishing, developing and pursuing statecraft, but their relatively lower importance in the entire system of statecraft means it is enough if they are covered by only certain actors (cf. Caldwell 1996: 661–662). In consequence, the programmatic setup of statecraft is inherent to all the underlying values of political organisation and social relations, but at the same time remains above them, meaning that it is both hierarchical and instrumentalised. Nevertheless, the reason for this may lie in its process-related and dynamic nature, making it uniform on the outside although it changes constantly on the inside.

Another key aspect to understanding statecraft lies in the framework of its establishment: it is about power, which takes different shapes in social and international relations. The classical (realist) frame of thought sees power mainly as *hard power*, i.e. relational power, where subject A can force subject B to do something (Strange 1988/1994). Yet the disintegration of the bipolar international order also changed the perceptions of power. Instead of coercive power, new sources have started emerging, such as soft power, normative power and smart power (Nye 2004a, b, c; Manners 2009; Zupančič and Hribernik 2011; Zupančič and Udovič 2011). These forms of power do not affect the other side directly, but indirectly, using different approaches, including the element of establishing attraction (cf. interpreting as a source of power; Žigon 2017; Maček 2019), which is the main source of soft (creative) power (Bojinović Fenko 2014). According to Barnett and Duvall (2005: 20ff), the main characteristic of creative power is that it abandons the institutional system and relations, focusing mainly on the processes in society.

And where does music fit in this context? Music, as one of the muses, has its own distinctive features. It has its external and internal autonomy, as well as its functions. The link between music and statecraft implies that statecraft instrumentalises music. Of course, turning music into a means of statecraft is not a one-time event, but a multiphase, continuous and perpetuated process. A political decision maker can instrumentalise music into a means of statecraft, but must nevertheless constantly make sure that it also remains independent. The fact that music can serve as an effective means of statecraft is evidenced already in the dedication of the song collection *Cantiones, quae ab argumento sacrae vocantur* (1575) to Queen Elizabeth I, where William Byrd and Thomas Tallis wrote that music was "indispensable to the state". On a symbolic level, this is also confirmed by Nicholas Hilliard's portrait of Queen Elizabeth I playing the lute. Butler (2015: 15–19) notes that the painting is uncommon, since women of the upper class did not play the lute, which was a symbol of sensitivity to earthly passions.

Udovič (2017: 187–190) notes that, along with awareness of the importance and power of music, its successful use in statecraft also requires a conscious decision of the political decision maker to use it for this purpose, or as he calls it: *willingness for action* (Figure 1).

Figure 1: *The relationship between music, awareness of its potency and its use*


Political decision makers are unaware of the role of music
No action
Music as an independent activity
No decision or conscious NO
Music used to strengthen statecraft
Political decision makers are aware of the role of
Conscious YES

Source: Udovič (2017: 189).

The instrumentalization of music and placing it in the statecraft toolbox thus depends on the awareness of the importance of music and a conscious decision of political decision makers to use music as a means of soft power to strengthen statecraft at home and abroad, but above all to strengthen its basic components—the internal and external prestige, reputation, greatness and position of their state.

EMPIRICAL STUDY: THREE CASES OF HOW AN (UN) OFFICIAL ANTHEM EMERGED

Introduction: the Framework of Slovene Nation-Building – From the Bottom Up

The current Slovene ethnic territory has gone through different stages in history. At the time of increased national awakening, most Slovenes were divided among three provinces of the Austrian Empire–Carniola, Styria and the Littoral (partly also Carinthia). Greater mobilisation and national awareness were spurred on by the French Revolution, and in particular, the interim period of the Illyrian Provinces, which speeded up the homogenisation of the Slovene nation. After the Congress of Vienna, the system in the Habsburg Empire may have returned to the old tracks, but the national awakening of Slovenes and other nations in the multi-ethnic empire continued. Since the Slovene ethnic territory was still under the great influence of religious authorities, it was precisely the clergy who led the so-called mapping of the Slovene nation (cf. also McCrone 1998: 53). This was the context of the creation of numerous myths, customs and folk traditions, as well as a reinvention and reinterpretation of historical facts to add a national character. This did not develop on its own, but rather in relation to the other—in this case the Slovene was defined as something that was not German (cf. Hobsbawm 1983), or as Štih (2005: 232) describes it, "*Sprachgeschichte*" (language history) becoming "*Volksgeschichte*" (national history).

Not much changed after the dissolution of Austria-Hungary. Slovenes left the "prison of nations" (as the empire was later unjustly demonised) with Anton Korošec's catchphrase "Majestät, es ist zu spät" ("It's too late, your Majesty"; Bister 1992: 258), hoping that aligning with other South Slavic nations would bring them the much desired national emancipation. However, this was not the case. The 6 January Dictatorship after 1929 even went in the opposite direction, establishing an idea of a uniform Yugoslav nation, which ran contrary to the desires of Slovenes (Kardelj 1969). Only after WWII, and particularly with the federalisation of Socialist Yugoslavia in 1974, did the emancipation of Slovenes as an ethnic community and nation truly take hold. Another pushback against this came with attempts at reintroducing centralisation in the 1980s (Dragan 2018), which were, however, unsuccessful. Slovenia declared independence in 1991 and established a state "by the people and for the people", which was confirmed by the Assembly of the Republic of Slovenia in the Constitution, which states that "Slovenia is a state of all its citizens and is founded on the permanent and inalienable right of the Slovene nation to self-determination" (Article 3, paragraph 1).

Naturally, the nation's gradual emergence from the bottom up also had an impact on national and local symbols, which is especially evident after 1945, when the National Liberation Struggle (the Partisan WWII resistance movement) assumed the position of a would-be religion (Pirjevec 2020), receiving the most attention by society, and at the same time, having everything subjected and focused on it. This "religious" function of the National Liberation Struggle also became an important driving force of people's actions, their thinking and emotions (creating the so-called new socialist man; cf. Duraković 2016)—an element that is still strongly present in the countries of former Yugoslavia.

Zdravljica – From a Choral Piece to the National Anthem

The first two composers to set France Prešeren's poem *Zdravljica* (A Toast) to music were Davorin Jenko (1862; *Zdravljica za glas in klavir—A Toast for voice and piano*) and Benjamin Ipavec (1864; *Napitnica za solo, klavir in zbor—A Toast for soloist, piano and chorus*). Jenko went for repetitive form, using the first, second, third, fifth and sixth stanzas, while Ipavec used only the first stanza (Cigoj Krstulović 2005: 13). Some 40 years later, in 1901, poet Anton Aškerc took issue with the fact that there were so few musical renditions of the poem: "This 'Zdravica' would be a much more beautiful and more natural Slovene Marseillaise than the inappropriate 'Naprej', if only we were to find a composer who would put together the right tune that would be rousing and uplifting" (Aškerc 1901: 67). This call seems to have struck a chord with Stanko Premrl, who published two of his compositions in the magazine *Novi akordi* (New Chords) in 1906, one of which was *Zdravljica*. This composition did not gain much resonance until ten years after its publication. With the changing times and the advent of WWI, Stanko Premrl was becoming an increasingly important national composer. At the peak of war, two of his vocal pieces were particularly popular: *Zdravljica* and *Slovenska govorica* (The Slovene Language). While F–Lj wrote of the latter in newspaper *Slovenec* (1916: 2) that it "was very effective, no less with its lyrics […] as with its soft music that is almost not heated and rousing enough given the spirited text", their popularity turned already within a year. Commenting on a concert given by the choir Glasbena matica, Premrl wrote: "The song that was received with the most enthusiasm was my 'Zdravica', the simplest of songs that is already somewhat older, and one that I did not even think would ever be performed in concert" (Premrl 1917: 353). Sources show that Premrl's rendition of *Zdravljica* became well established among the people. It was reportedly sung in both camps during WWII—the Communist-led Partisan resistance movement and the anti-Partisan Home Guard—and after the war it first started being mentioned informally as the Slovene national anthem.[3] A symbolic breakthrough when *Zdravljica* gained primacy over the unofficial Slovene anthem *Naprej, zastava slave!* (often shortened to *Naprej!*) came in 1948, when publisher Državna založba Slovenije marked the anniversary of the poet's death with a monograph entitled *Prešernov dan, naš kulturni praznik* (Prešeren Day, our cultural holiday), which featured Premrl's *Zdravljica* twice, with a score for a mixed choir and one for a male choir. Cigoj Krstulović (2005: 22) writes that *Zdravljica* in itself "symbolised not only the Slovene culture, but also the national consciousness. Only here starts the true history of *Zdravljica* as the Slovene national anthem, which was spontaneously adopted as such even before it was [legally] institutionalised."

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[3] Another musical rendition of *Zdravljica* that was said to be popular among the Partisans was that of Makso Pirnik, which Ciril Cvetko (1974: 19) claims "successfully competed in popularity with the eponymous composition by Premrl" (although we have certain doubts as to this).

The path to its institutionalisation began with the shifts in Yugoslavia that turned the country into a federation. In light of the creation of a new structure in Yugoslavia in 1972, the Socialist Alliance of Working People put out a call for proposals for the national anthem. The following songs were proposed: *Naprej, zastava slave!* (Forward, Flag of Glory!) by Davorin Jenko, *Domovina naša je svobodna* (Our Homeland is Free) by Viktor Mihelčič, *Naša zemlja* (Our Country) by Marjan Kozina, *Hej, brigade* (Hey, Brigades) by Matej Bor, *Zdravljica* by Stanko Premrl, *Slovenci kremeniti* (Steadfast Slovenes) arranged to a Macedonian folk tune, *The Internationale* by Pierre De Geyter, *Mati, Slovenija* (Mother, Slovenia) from Radovan Gobec's cantata *Pesem o svobodi* (Song of Freedom), and *Moj dom* (My Home), now the Czech national anthem (ibid.). *Zdravljica*, *Naprej!* and *Naša zemlja* were shortlisted (Paternu 2005). With respect to Premrl's *Zdravljica*, Dragotin Cvetko wrote that it "is a beautiful piece, but is not appropriate, because it is an explicitly choral composition and cannot be sung by masses", adding that it was "somewhat complicated in terms of melody. Also with respect to harmony, I doubt that every choir could sing it, and moreover—if I may say so—it stagnates in some of the passages, and lacks that lively tempo. It is not that simple, nor is it really as ceremonial as would become of an anthem, although it is nice to listen to" (Cvetko 2005). Since the relevant authorities could not reach a consensus, another round of discussions on the national anthem was conducted at a later stage.

After the Constitution for the republic was passed in 1974, stipulating in Article 10 that the "Socialist Republic of Slovenia has an anthem defined by law", the discussion on the national anthem of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia resumed in the Republic's Assembly. An expert group came to an agreement to have *Zdravljica* as the anthem, but they chose the version by Ubald Vrabec, not Premrl (Humer 2005). Then politicians listened to both versions, by Premrl and Vrabec (Kmecl 2005). When it seemed already that the latter would be selected, a member of the coordinating body said: "People may think what they will, yes, but Premrl's was still more beautiful" (Humer 2005). Once again, *Zdravljica* was not officially confirmed as the anthem of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia. Vladimir Bračič then proposed to the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia to choose Jenko's *Naprej, zastava slave!* as the anthem, but they did not do so, because Premrl's *Zdravljica* had already been generally accepted as the unofficial anthem. Evidence of this can be found in two anecdotes. The first is a rock version of Premrl's *Zdravljica* by the band Lačni Franz from the mid-1980s, which was met with great enthusiasm by the youth.[4] The band's frontman Zoran Predin remembers that Lačni Franz received many letters of thanks from primary school teachers that "children are now learning Zdravljica on their own, without having to be forced to do so, so we are very grateful" (Kopina 2010). The second anecdote is related to a celebration of the fourth centenary of the death of reformer Primož Trubar, the author of the first printed books in Slovenian, held in his home village of Rašica. Kmecl (2005) remembers the event like this:

> In 1986, on the 400th anniversary of Trubar's death, when there was a big celebration in Rašica, I remember quite well we said we would stand up when they started singing [*Zdravljica*]. Since if we have a ceremonial song with which we identify, then we should also act as becomes of a national anthem. And so, there were maybe about ten of us standing at first, and then the old Vidmar[5] looked around at what was going on, and he understood immediately what it was about and stood up as well. Then the entire audience stood up, everyone who was there at that Trubar ceremony.

From there on to declaring *Zdravljica* the national anthem, there was only one more logical step. The Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia adopted and declared the relevant amendments to the 1974 Constitution on 27 September 1989. Constitutional Amendment XII stipulated in Article 1: "The anthem of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia is 'Zdravljica'."

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[4] The version by *Lačni Franz*, which was on the band's 1987 album, was banned at first, and the cassettes finished in a bunker instead of music stores.

[5] Josip Vidmar, literary critic and one of the leaders of the Communist Party in Slovenia.

Although technically speaking the Constitution did not define the specific version, everything was clear in practice. A few months later, on 22 February 1990, the National Assembly proposed an anthem bill, and its accompanying explanation reads:

> The Constitutional Amendment stipulates that the anthem of the SR of Slovenia is "Zdravljica", but not that it is the Zdravljica written by Prešeren and set to music by Premrl. Although there is no doubt as to the version, it seems that when discussing and adopting this amendment all the previously open questions related to the Slovenian anthem were not delved into.

The bill was adopted unanimously. When Slovenia declared independence, the national anthem was set down in the Constitution, which states in Article 6 that the national anthem of the Republic of Slovenia is *Zdravljica*, but the exact song and its use are defined in more detail in the *Act Regulating the Coat-of-Arms, Flag and Anthem of the Republic of Slovenia* (Official Gazette 64/1994).

Hej, Brigade – From a Partisan Song to the Unofficial Anthem of Ljubljana

Hej, brigade (Hey, brigades) is one of the most well-known Slovene WWII songs. According to its author Matej Bor (real name Vladimir Pavšič), it was written sometime between the summer of 1941 and autumn of 1942. There are different variations in the lyrics as well as the melody. The exact circumstances of its creation are unclear from Bor's written recollections, but he recounts: "The motif came spontaneously, with the melody preceding the text, but the rhythm came first. Listening to the Partisan machineguns echoing in the surroundings of Ljubljana and up to the hills around Polhov gradec, I felt a yearning for the woods…in other words, for the freedom that was there in spite of all the problems, but not in Ljubljana" (Matoz, 2014). While Bor claims he was the one who came up with the melody, official history says the author of the melody was composer France Šturm, and it is supposed to have been sung for the Partisans for the first time by his wife Bogdana

Stritar.[6] Šturm's tune did not become popular, which is why Bor tried with his own, which Partisans started singing (Cvetko 1974: 47). Despite what Cvetko writes, it remains unclear who is the author of the melody known to this day. Formally, Franc Šturm is cited as the author, although it seems the melody, not only the lyrics, also came from Bor, while some sources also cite Radoslav Hrovatin as the author. This song is probably one of the cases of which Cvetko (1985: 6) notes that the melodies of Partisan songs changed through time, so the version of *Hej, brigade* that we know today is different than the one by Bor, and also different to that sung after the war (in the choral arrangement by Karol Pahor). In short—something in between.

Why did *Hej, brigade* become the unofficial anthem of Ljubljana? Mostly likely because of the lyrics, as one of the verses mentions Slovenia and its capital Ljubljana. The verse starts with "Čez poljane požgane / Tja do bele Ljubljane" (Across the scorched plains / All the way to white Ljubljana), and concludes with a line referring to Slovenia: "Na Slovenskem smo mi gospodar!" (We're the masters of Slovene lands!). And what makes *Hej, brigade* the unofficial anthem of Ljubljana? Participant observation and reviews of available audio-visual sources have shown that the visitors of events in Ljubljana where the song is performed stand up already with the sounding of the first few bars. Unlike with the national anthem, *Hej, brigade* is not only listened to, but involves active participation. It is also interesting to observe the dramatic structure usually used by conductors when performing this song in Ljubljana (it is not used elsewhere in Slovenia). This dramatic structure consists of two phases: the first phase includes the first two verses where the tempo is relatively fast and the conductor faces the musicians, but in the third verse ("Čez poljane požgane…"), which refers to Ljubljana and Slovenia, the conductor slows down the tempo and the audience takes active part in the performance (by singing along, clapping to the rhythm, or both). The song is followed by an applause.

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[6] Reportedly it was first sung as a solo by Bogdana Stritar accompanied by an accordion in Stare Žage for the Levstik Brigade (or maybe the Prešeren Brigade), before Italy capitulated (Križnar 1992: 64).

Vstajenje Primorske – From a Propaganda Song to the Unofficial Anthem of Primorska

The lyrics of the song *Vstajenje Primorske* (The Rise of Primorska) were written as a poem by lawyer and Partisan fighter Lev Svetek, alias Zorin, on 6 January 1944 at Križna gora near Col, after having climbed a nearby peak and seeing the entire Primorska Region spread before him (Černigoj, 2013; Zorin, 2013). He read the poem to his fellow fighters, and they loved it, but it took almost a quarter of a century until it was put to music.

In 1968, a big celebration was being prepared to mark the 25th anniversary of the capitulation of Italy in WWII and the resulting reunification of the Primorska Region with the rest of Slovene territory. The ceremony would take place in Nova Gorica, which also celebrated the 20th anniversary of its establishment. A delegation from the city decided that something special and unique should be prepared for the occasion, so they asked composer Rado Simoniti (also a native of the Primorska Region) to compose a special song that would rouse emotions with the people of this region (Cigoj, 2013). Simoniti initially said it was too late, but later decided to nevertheless put together a song using the poem by Lev Svetek, whom he had known since they were students and fellow resistance fighters.[7]

The song is made up of two parts. The first part is an original verse by Rado Simoniti, while the second part (chorus) is taken from Fran Venturini's song *Bazovica*, which was written in memory of four Slovene early anti-Fascists who were executed by the Italians in Basovizza (near Trieste) in 1930, which Simoniti also wrote explicitly about when the piece was published. However, a careful analysis demonstrates that already Venturini's chorus already paraphrases a Christian hymn to Mary entitled *Ti, o Marija* by Angelik Hribar[8] (see Figure 2).

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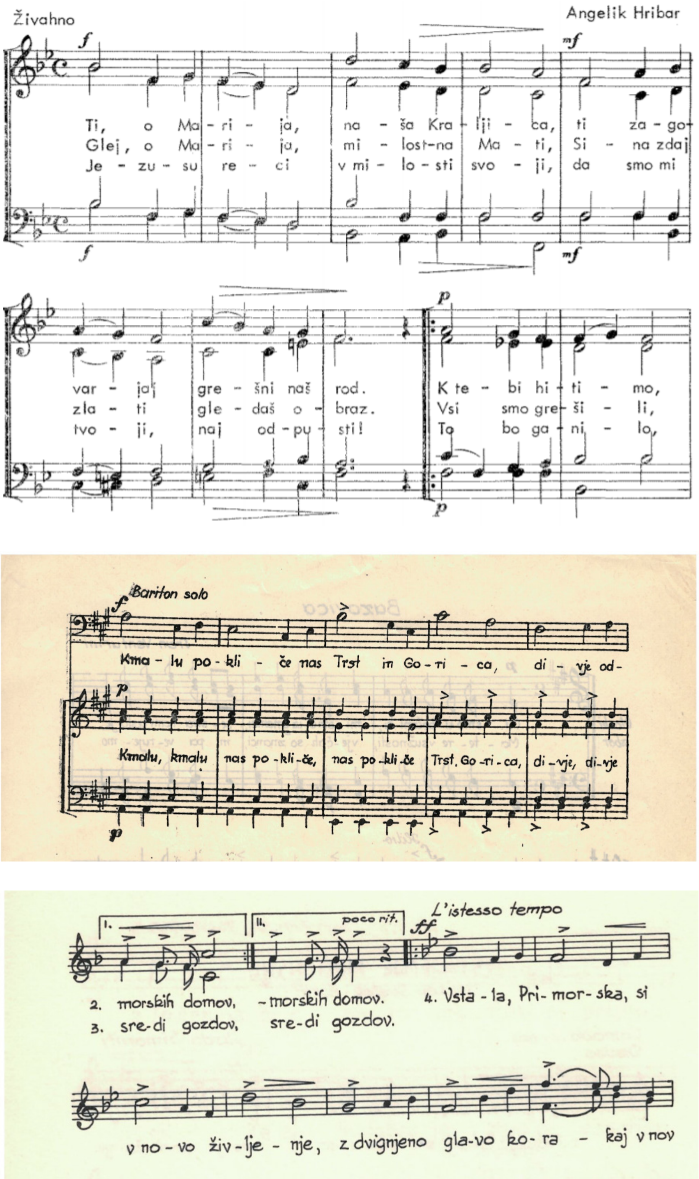
[7] Archival documents even include a letter by Rado Simoniti to Lev Svetek, asking him to correct certain passages, because the original text could not be put to music in a sensible way.

[8] The song is also known in Croatia as *Djevi Mariji*.

Figure 2: *Corresponding passages from Ti, o Marija, Bazovica and Vstajenje Primorske*


Živahno
Angelik Hribar
f
mf
Ti, o Ma - ri - ja, na - ša Kra - lji - ca, ti za - go
Glej, o Ma - ri - ja, mi - lost-na Ma - ti, Si - na zdaj
Je - zu - su re - ci v mi - lo - sti svo - ji, da smo mi
var - jaj gre - šni naš rod.
zla - ti gle - daš o - braz.
tvo - ji, naj od - pu - sti!
p
K te - bi hi - ti - mo,
Vsi smo gre - ši - li,
To bo ga - ni - lo,
Bariton solo
Kma - lu po - kli - če nas Trst in Go - ri - ca, di - vje od-
Kmalu, kmalu nas po - kli - če, nas po - kli - če Trst, Go - ri - ca, di - vje, di - vje
poco rit.
L'istesso tempo
ff
2. morskih domov, - morskih domov.
3. sre - di gozdov, sre - di gozdov.
4. Vsta - la, Pri - mor - ska, si
v no - vo živ - lje - nje, z dvignjeno gla - vo ko - ra - kaj v nov

Source: Cerkvene ljudske pesmi (1978: n. 390), Venturini (1954), Moški zbori (1968: 1–2)

Nevertheless, the song *Vstajenje Primorske* was received with great approval at the said ceremony in 1968. Its popularity grew so big that it even overshadowed Venturini's *Bazovica*, which became evident at a 1978 ceremony in Komen, where "a crowd of over a hundred people simply rose to their feet" at the chorus (Merlak 2013). It was then that the song earned the title of the anthem of Primorska. Participant observation and analysis of audio-visual footage have shown that people still stand when the song is performed. The only difference with this song is that people in the Primorska Region always rise for the chorus only, while in other parts of Slovenia, particularly in Ljubljana, many stand up already when the song starts. The song is always followed by an applause. A particularly interesting case was a 2016 basketball match between the clubs Sixt Primorska from Koper and Helios Suns from Domžale (central Slovenia), when some 300 singers staged a flash mob, singing *Vstajenje Primorske* during the match. Even the spectators on the side of Helios Suns stood up for the chorus, despite being fans of the other team (KK Koper – Primorska 2016).

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The aim of this article was to analyse the diplomatic/statecraft momentum of the national anthem and two unofficial anthems in Slovenia. Our findings can be summarised in three main points:

1. All three of the analysed songs used as (un)official anthems in Slovenia became that through the bottom-up principle. Scholars and politicians did not initially perceive Premrl's *Zdravljica* as national anthem material, nor was *Hej, brigade* written as an anthem for the capital, and the same goes for *Vstajenje Primorske* and its position in the Primorska Region. Based on this, we can establish that for the diplomatic/statecraft momentum to develop, it is important that a particular musical piece be accepted among the people. People must feel it and take it as their own.
2. All three songs developed the diplomatic/statecraft momentum, not only internally, but also externally. Standing up for

the two unofficial (local/regional) anthems testifies to the strong symbolism of the two songs within their respective areas. With respect to *Vstajenje Primorske*, we could almost say its symbolic importance exceeds its regional character and partly merges into national-level statecraft. This is an important finding, which can—in reference to Figure 1—serve political decision makers in their pursuit of statecraft.

3. Musical analysis reveals that all three songs are fundamentally different. While Premrl's *Zdravljica* creates an anthemic feeling with a fourth from the dominant to the tonic (an anthemic interval), neither *Hej, brigade* nor *Vstajenje Primorske* opens with such an interval (*Hej, brigade* progresses from the mediant to the tonic, and *Vstajenje Primorske* progresses up from the tonic to the mediant in a minor scale), but the chorus of *Vstajenje Primorske* does start with a descending fourth, which leaves a similar anthemic impression as an upward fourth. This might be one of the reasons the chorus seems so majestic and likable.

Of course, we are aware of the limitations to our discussion. If we wished to analyse anthems as a source of the diplomatic/statecraft momentum, we would also need to consider other unofficial anthems, including songs by the Avsenik brothers, which are certainly part of the diplomatic/statecraft repertoire. Apart from this limitation, further analyses should also take into consideration the broader context of how the songs analysed were created (composing because of a need, due to circumstances, or commissioned compositions), as well as other related songs that are or could be used as elements of statecraft in Slovenia. Finally, we should also establish foreign influences, particularly the influences of neighbouring musical traditions, and test our findings diachronically against the time when the songs came to being.

Regardless of these limitations and suggestions for further research, our findings lead to the conclusion that all three analysed works have the potential for integration in the national system of statecraft. Aside from *Zdravljica*, which is by definition a symbol of statecraft and the state's diplomatic activity, *Hej, brigade* and *Vstajenje Primorske* could also be better and more ambitiously incorporated in the national statecraft system. This discussion opens up the possibility for increased awareness of political decision makers about this, with a conscious decision for the next possible step. And the future will tell if this step is in fact taken.

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